764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The latter are usually rectangular stone piles with flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the houses have high pitched roofs coming down to the floor on all sides. They appear to be hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses are simpler and follow a more usual design, but all have a different look from those in, for
[531] example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba here, but rice stalks are used in the same way and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses, and the answer was yes.

[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
●797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was named Nalles and has a church and school and is starting to plant coffee for the church. The nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says that about half of the population in these villages have been converted. It is the usual story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga. The whole place looked ideal, with old style houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We talked with a couple of the men, and they said that the kapitan (district chief) was in the garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come back later. I decided to take this kampong, or rather this double kampong.

634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the northern half of Ende town, and the other from

634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja, and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matrilineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it was matrilineal too, which was news to me. Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
●797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the kapitan with several men wading across the river to the garden on the other side. We called him back and he got in suspiciously and we then drove back to his house. There he called the kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a relative of his, an old man with an old sarong and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis [scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

614 R They did
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
178 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke, however, the old adat is still strong and the exogamous rule still holds. The young people who have gone to school are beginning to rebel, but the elders remain strong and hold to the adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan.
●797 Most of the rest are Christian, although there are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the familiar one of the younger generation becoming Christian while the older generation remains pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewarangga, because there are five suku and about two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers. In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas. Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of public works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility and others not (I must find out more about this). The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief (thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u (pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on this as it may be a survival of a purely genealogical localization of clans in a single kampong). He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u. The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

R

764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
●[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

R

551 I asked about personal names and found that the suku name is not used as a personal family name. What they do is the same as the Scandinavians and Arabs and old Jews. They indeed usually employ only their own names preceded by their Christian names, if any. But if asked, they will also give their father's name after their own name. Thus my assistant is Migo. His church name is Adrianus. His father's name was Pega. Usually he calls himself Adrianus Migo, but if pressed he will say Adrianus Migo Pega. The same holds for the kapitan, who is Mani and whose father was Api. The giri tumba is Raki, and his father Dura. Thus in full, Migo is Adrianus (Church) Migo Pega of suku Odja. They
197 said that no one in the kampong could speak Dutch, and perhaps only a little more than ten per cent could speak Malay. There is one man
[212] (Bapa Ketjil of Aiutu, an old man who chews betel and has almost no teeth) who can write in the Ende script. They call it tulisan lontar. They say that in Ende town alone it is well known, but outside of the town it is rare.

595 The wife of the Controleur says that the
183 Radja of Manggarai is a Catholic, although he has two wives. This is a nice problem. The former Radja of Lio was brought back from exile by the Japanese during the war. Later he was executed by the Dutch because he murdered so many Dutch, Australians, etc. But he also killed many children for the fertility of the rice fields. Nevertheless, he was a Catholic. The Radja of Sikka has had several wives, even at the same time, and many concubines. At one time he had a Mohammedan wife and also a Mohammedan concubine. Each time he confesses and reenters the mother Church, to the rejoicing of the priests.
793 The priests here are evidently worse than death
178 for the old adat, much worse than the Protestants
● 797 in Ambon, and the people are scared of them, for

F 793 178 797 if they do anything against Catholicism, the guru tells the priest, and the latter or the bearded bishop will condemn them to hell. Thus the threat of hell fire keeps them in line, and the priests are no better than the old witch doctors. This is why so much of the old religion is dying out fast.

F 634 In the afternoon, at the Radja of Sikka's house, we met the wakil radjas of Ngada (the old Radja has many wives and hunts all the time), Manggarai (a Hindu type, the man with two wives, a Catholic), and Nageh. These plus the new Radja of Lio and several others will meet tomorrow at the pasanggrahan.

F 344 Note on the "office" of the kapitan at Roworeke: While we were talking a horse entered the office from the rear and stood there attracting flies. After a long while the secretary went out and chased the horse away.

A 753 789 Note on Ambon: In Makassar, I met Drop, who said that he had never heard of Baier, former Controleur of Piru, Ceram, having had a matakau cause trouble for him, as I was told in Ambon. I remember it was said that old Gaspersz met him and his face was twisted and his eyes crossed after he unsuspectingly ate a bit of a snake which was cooking in the Ceram hills. The story in Ambon was that within a week he was stricken agonizingly and had to be removed to Makassar where the doctors could not tell what the cause was. Evidently, the truth is, or at least seems plausible, that he was sick when Gaspersz met him and looked bad. He was then told the story about the snake, and Gaspersz with true superstitious Ambonese imagination, filled in the whole business, which then grew with each retelling. I got it from Rehatta finally. Drop said there was nothing wrong with Baier now. Of course, this is a couple of months later, and he may have been worse before.

302 Kattenburg in a mountain kampong reported that he had seen a girl wearing lipstick. It was betel stain to which he is not used.

487 We left Ende for Larantuka on Tuesday, December 20, and after a long run through the mountains we reached Maumeri at noon. Then we went on an even harder run to Larantuka. This took all afternoon. The rain in the hills was bad. We passed through Tanai Ai and Lewotobi areas without knowing it. The land was very empty. I suddenly found that I was in Konga.

[485] Larantuka is the end of the world, and the pasanggrahan there was pretty primitive.

[443] [377] 197 It is hard to buy anything here in Larantuka. There is no electricity except in the mission, and the latter runs the town and everything else of a western nature evidently. The place has an air of having been asleep for a long time. Behind it is the Ili Mandiri, the storied mountain of the ancestors of the Larantuka people. The 144 town is a mixture of natives and descendants of intermixed Portuguese as well as Malays from Malaya who came in a long time ago with the Portuguese. One can see all sorts of physical types. Outside the town along the coast is a 361 Mohammedan kampong, Kampong Baru, but there are few Mohammedans elsewhere. Most kampongs are behind the mountain. There are also a few on the way to Lewotobi.

632 361 The next day we started out to see the area behind the mountain, especially Leloba, where Vatter worked. We passed through several kampongs of rather large but shabby look. This was especially true of Mudakaputu (seat of kakang of Mudakaputu formerly, although he is now at one of the other places, in Riangkamië, I think), Watuwiti, Riangkamië, and Wailolong. These are all together in one kakangschap (called gemeente here too by the people, and it is also one adat 632 area). This is the Blakang-Gunung. The Radja

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

632 told me that his mother is from this area, and later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda). It is the twin kampong of Watuwiti. As we passed every kampong the children came out in droves shouting greetings and then running after and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as Vatter[1] described them almost twenty years ago. [178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same, but some are different, for example, Catholicism has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and the korke of Leloba.

346 797 583 438 At Wailolong we went off on a new side road to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong, barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and invited us to his hut. He is temporarily here because the church and pastorie in Riangkamië was burned two months ago. The people there caused the fire by burning the hills on the windward side, and the kampong elders voted to give a percentage of the bride prices for quite a long while in order that they might have the new church. This will be paid in elephant tusks, [435] which the mission will sell for cash to the Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan traders will then resell the tusks to the people in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price. They will probably sell them in the Tandjung Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 197 177 The priest told how the Catholics work here. They try to keep as much of the old culture as possible. For example, he and others are learning all about the Solor language, which is the local language here, so that they can make prayers in it. They also make prayers in the 797 old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They 177 use native songs with words in the native lan- 533 guage and in the native style, too. He, musical,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

797 177 [533] sang a few, and they are quite good. He says the Gregorian chants are liked by the people here as they are similar to theirs. Perhaps both are primitive. Also they like marches. Then too, said the priest here, on Christmas they retell the old story, saying that the shepherds brought mangos, bananas, and other native fruits to the manger. I think he said he has them bring such fruits to the church manger. They interfere as little as possible with the old practices. An old pageant concerning cosmogony and the descent of man has been kept, but they put in Adam and Eve and Sem, etc., in place of the native figures. As Kattenburg rightly remarked, it is a question as to whether they are adjusting native religion to Catholicism or Catholicism to native religion.

797 177 578 [197] Later, in the Larantuka mission headquarters, the priest said there was much argument among the priests whether this is right. Krol, however, is on the native side. He says, for example, that if they had hymns in Malay the old folk would never come to church. On hearing their own language, however, they come in and sit in the rear. This is an interesting reversal of the methods employed by the Protestants in Ambon, and Krol could see this. Protestantism does not compromise. The hymns are in Malay and are simply Dutch. They will take nothing from the old religion and they refuse to compromise. The priest said that the Catholic method is a matter of tactics, and I thought, "Here is the Jesuit view of an end justifying the means." Anyway, here the old is intermeshed with the new, and is gradually weeded out. In Ambon the two are kept separate, and there is a conflict between the adat and the agama lama, and Protestantism. This is not to say that there is no conflict here, and I think there is more than meets the eye. But the difference in method is notable.

000 notable.

● 797 177 346 [614] The church in Riangkamië is built with reference to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin, Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the rule used: anything of a social nature is all right, but if it is of a religious nature and related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc., Catholicism won't take it. This is like the [171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the Protestants will let the Christians go to these social rites but not to the great exorcism rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed to go to the old rites on the nama in front of the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is hard for the folk here to see the difference, and they tend to regard these retained aspects of paganism as full paganism because they are symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 178 243 796 He told much that was interesting. There is in paganism here a need for a girl to be the rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1] tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs insisted in one kampong that at least one girl should not be converted, as at least one is needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to have something vital allowed to remain. "Give us one only," they ask. He said it is true that just about all of the young people are Catholic, but many of the old remain pagan.

[771] Wac Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there are few, but very few young people who are pagan. 578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed 411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba and Waibalun and the police had to stop it. They fight these wars all the time, with bow and spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not 511 because they were hungry and need land. And [578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We
511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have
[312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

164 Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I
511 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we
634 were told that it is hard for the mission to
661 make plans here, because every time they get an
423 improvement, for example, in the land system,
427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land.
624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went
159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there, and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer type, and it is strange that she is not married. I get the idea there is some friction between her and her father. She had five years of schooling at the sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office), and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daughter says this is all right as she was from Larantuka. If she were from any kampong behind the mountain, this would have been impossible. The house was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[197] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.[1] The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We talked a great deal about adat and then came back to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit the children in the school there.

312 In the afternoon we picked him up and went to Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kampong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the spa, and here there were many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong for this). Women were also hauling water from this place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon. There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as many as one hundred houses and a possible population of seven hundred.

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. #3—Arndt]

We
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in area where there is a large bench for sleeping. There is also a bale-bale (sleeping bench) under the roof and often in front too. Here sit the women while they work. If there are two families to a house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel as in other kampongs. The church to which everyone here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiö, but since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are standard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue and black mostly. The designs are even poorer than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used for men and for women. They say that a cloth takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
304 few old people, it seems especially the women, have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

We

771 I see many old pagan men and women here, un-
301 like in Leloba. They wear necklaces, earbells,
291 and ikat sarongs. I saw one old man getting gin with bamboos. Many women here go about bare breasted.

304 Most people have their teeth filed. They are flattened.

621 The kepala kampong, who has sore eyes, say
124 that Leloba and Wailolong were combined in the negri lama. There is still much intermarriage and a very close relationship between these two. Later, when I got to work with the guru and he saw that I needed to get every name, etc., he was scared and said that it is easy if he has to do this in his kampong but hard in Wailolong. Thus there is a big gulf between even nearby kampongs. This question took us until 7:30 to talk over and we are still in trouble.

124 I knew this morning that I should not take a
123 man who is not a member of my kampong, but he is
115 so good in other ways that I yielded to the priest. It is clear that the main rule in this kind of research is: never take an assistant who does not live in the kampong. If you do he will not be received easily and he does not know the local gossip and intimate personal matters which would prove helpful. Also, I can't sit in his house in the kampong, and this is important for impressions. I may be able to work out a compromise at greater cost by using the Leloba guru but another assistant in Wailolong. This is a mess and from now on I follow my instinct on choosing an assistant. We finally left after dark.

●797 At noon today I went to the mission headquarters to get gas. It alone has any, because V. and W. has no trucks here. I can see that the mission has everything. It is really the administration here. The pasanggrahan boy said that the Catholics here do not use the name "Christ" because this is taken to mean Protestant. In-

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 346 874 793 The mission headquarters has a large building for priests (there are always three here, but others come to rest and get supplies), several workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks
[792] Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here, and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 262 There are practically no vegetables except tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 614 The suku marriage custom is evidently still in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 721 It is notable that there are so many border

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof, are easier to keep clean and are better in general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the kampong, and even fewer move out of or into the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here. There is no telegraph. There is no mail service. There is no postman. The priest has a battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië. Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few people have much knowledge about the world. This is really the lowest place I have been in yet. Most of the people are strongly attached to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

R

796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West
Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Roma]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
783 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

In East Flores especially the bow is still
411 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
224 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were
126 coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

The style of clothing changes from place to
291 place, though here again there is a general
184

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically uninhabited (as usual between the coast and mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
• 797 and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station at Todabelu, where there were many modern buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well as a trade school. All of these were notably advanced over anything else we have seen in Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd for the day, and football games were held. These are the great sport all over Indonesia now, and it is coming even into the remote kampongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is striking, especially that of the men. It consists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed teeth, and in addition many had blackened them. Earboring is a general practice here, but as usual the younger men may have the holes but no rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot, although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded roofs. They are built on piles definitely, unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses built on a single post. They are called nadu

311
241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great economic problem.

114 He said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scho-
124 lars' findings were wrong as they use Christian
159 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
634 them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field
[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes
443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

621 or drum. Thus they may speak of his house as
624 the rumah gong-gendang. These instruments are
534 used in the rites, and as tuan tanah he must have
342 them. If there is a branch kampong, the tuan tanah tjabang must get a gong and a gendang from the mother kampong tuan tanah. Thus the gong-gendang is a symbol of power, like the Celebes aradjang.

There have been men who from time to time try to become tuan tanah-like by getting a gong and a gendang. This is not possible, however, as they must come directly from the old tuan tanah. Sometimes a tuan tanah tjabang is not happy in the branch kampong and he may come back to the mother kampong, taking his gong-gendang with
621 him. I think he said that a branch is often
614 caused by the fact that there are two va'u in a kampong, and one may split off and move to a new location. Evidently there is a tendency to keep the rule of one va'u per kampong. Thus I note that he says that the Ruteng kampong, which has two va'u, is having internal trouble between the two. There might be a split off in such a case.

797 He said finally that Catholicism has made
178 just about no change at all in the adat. It stands fast. Maybe here we have a case of greater technical change than in Larantuka or Ende where there has been practically no technical change, but on the other hand, there has been very little change in the adat here, which has been much modified in Larantuka and Ende.
[242] Thus one can see beautiful farming techniques here, and the mission is strong in this type of development. There are also wooden houses with nails (cost about fl. 2000.00 in meat and gift salaries and materials). In Larantuka and Ende the economic conditions remain at the same old miserable level. Thus the mission changes adat and religion a lot in Ende and Larantuka, but only technical changes have occurred here.

We

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

582 I asked if there were many marriages between
614 Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before
177 there were many because they were allies and
578 nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came
•797 in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba,
decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong,
however, decided to resist. This strained the
friendly relations which had existed before,
and until recently there have not been too
many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he
mentioned in this connection that missionaries
entered the region in 1907, whether the more
rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also
have strained relations with the relatively
resistant Wailolong.

124 After telling me that he was in fine spirits
177 because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma,
578 he said he was also happy because he got such
123 a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from
609 house to house getting the census material. He
had been afraid of this, and thought that the
people would snub him. This would have made
him much ashamed. This was also why he in-
sisted that we get the kakang to order the
Wailolong folk to give the information. Now
he reports that he was received with open arms
and that the Wailolong folk say they are de-
lighted that a big man of Leloba is coming
among them to work, and that also big men from
the United States are getting their names and
their customs down on paper. They said that
they felt submerged for many years (and their
kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and
that now they are having a rise. It looks to
me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and
this shows that the probable relations between
these two communities were really distant until
we came. We may have brought peace and good
609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing
123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

We

123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

614 We discussed a certain rank which appears in
343 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
562 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
243 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

[114] We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
614 He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
796 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
831 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
784 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
241 gins, but now with so few young girls still
[857] pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[887] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
● [797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

War

829 a small scale.

Everyone here knows the places in and the arrangement of the kampong and the district and the Larantuka town road. Perhaps only ten people know about the setup as far as Maumere, and probably only the guru is clear about the rest of Flores. Perhaps only two people know about the general arrangement of the geography of Indonesia. And except for a few place names and countries, no one knows about world geography.

One boy who is in the fifth grade knew the population of Indonesia, and he also knew the population of the United States! He was absolutely correct. Other people could not give this information, and as for other countries even he had no idea.

As usual we got a terrific reaction when we told them how few people there were in Holland. [197] [204] They muttered for several minutes. They said that two men in Wailolong and one in Leloba receive the mission paper. Perhaps ten other people borrow and read it.

484 521 203 The very few people who have visited towns outside of Flores are loquacious in telling about their experiences, mostly limited to kampong life. Others listen to this, but there is evidently very little reaction.

178 632 651 There has been just about no change in the political structure in the last fifty years here. The kakang and all others were here long ago. The kakang has shifted from one kampong to another and that's about all. The traditional system of government has seen little change. Taxation started forty years ago. Now they pay a tax of fl. 1.00 for each animal killed for food, and fl. 10.00 for each animal killed for sale. (This just about stops any chance of a meat-selling market or animal industry.)

000 Today there are more meetings and greater

We.
789 even the rice, animals, iron and trees have it. If an animal lives for a long time despite many blows, he is in possession of a lot of this power. Men differ in the amount of this power they may have. The radja has lots, and so on down the line. Thus power is a combination of ancestor sanction and real, indwelling power which comes with the blood of legitimacy. The stones and other fetishes linked with office reinforce and symbolize this power. One can even have power from animal familiars, as is the case with the assistant's father.

769 This led to a talk about how to reconcile
•797 the ancestors, who were pagan, with the abandon-
182 ment of the rites they were used to. They have rationalized that God is more powerful than their ancestors, and the latter are in heaven anyway. They call on them rather than call them in person. The pagans, however, still do the latter. This is usual, and I think it is a real problem to them. Roy told how Laba, the last powerful pagan of Leloba, gradually took on Christianity after swearing that he would not. He tried it and his crops were still good. He decided that maybe it was all right. What would have happened if his crops had failed? And what if his crops failed steadily now or there was a great calamity? Could there be a nativist revival of paganism? The Catholics are working fast to kill everything before there is any chance of this.

346 I asked why the korke of several kampongs were
[656] in such bad repair. He said that this was because
[796] of the great cost in animals, etc. needed for a feast at the time of rebuilding. And, the government will not allow "wasteful" rites to be held. They say that it is a waste because so much food is consumed and so many beasts are killed. But why, then, let them build a new church for the one which is now burned in Riang Kamië?
346
797

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
•797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

We

000 This is an example of radja tyranny.

888 178 622 Formerly, politicians were older than they are today. Indeed, they would not follow a younger man formerly very well. Today there are plenty of cases of an older radja tuan giving his rightful kepala kampong post to a younger brother. At least it is usually the latter, for this keeps it in the proper family. The older man keeps the adat post. (This is what Roy himself has done here). He said that this is done: (1) because if there is trouble in the kampong, the kepala kampong bears the brunt of this and may have to go to jail. It is better to have two men so that one can carry on the administration; (2) the older man is often unable to read and write. Formerly the three kepala kampong were always the same men as the radja tuan of the three main suku.

[561] 178 797 177 This led to a long talk about the conflict between generations. Roy says that there is no conflict here, as they give in if the children are firm enough. He also says that although the old resisted religious change before, they have surrendered now and know that it is hopeless. When they are dead they know that paganism will be finished. It came out clearly here that the only real force of change has been Catholicism. And the only area of change has been religion, although other aspects have been affected thereafter. Thus we got again onto the subject of religion.

797 178 I asked if, if there were a long period of misfortunes, there might not be a reversion to paganism. He said that this is conceivable, but that it has gone too far now for this to be a strong probability. He gave a case of a kampong on the neck of Tandjung Bunga, Riang Koli, which not long ago decided that it would not give up paganism but would merely make a deliberate combination of it and Catholicism. How-

797 178 ever, he says that this was not caused by misfortunes. I asked about the Catholics trying to kill all of the old culture, and he said that they use no force. I gave the case of [34½] the church and the taboo on the expense of rebuilding a korke, and how the Catholics allowed for the great cost of a new church in Riang Kamië. He saw my point, but then when I asked about the sale of tusks in order to pay for the church, he said that this was a suggestion of the Riang Kamië folk themselves (no urging by the priest?) and that this was to be done only by a few families or groups which set the disastrous fire.

583 452 This led us on to a talk about the tusks. He says that they do not need many to keep the marriage system going. Thus both in Wailolong and Leloba they have about twenty-five left today. This is enough. But they must have at least five, as this is the minimum price for a girl. As long as they have the price for one girl they can keep the system going on a credit scheme. This is amazing. It is necessary, and absolutely so, to keep five.

I told about Roworeke, which has lost all their tusks, and he said haggardly that this might possibly happen here, but he didn't want to think of the results. The minimum number of five holds for this part of the district, but in the Riang Kamië sector it is only three, so they could keep the system going with a minimum of three. The reason Roy is so firm on this matter concerning the tusks is that he insists that one cannot get married without tusks, or at least credit for tusks. There is nothing else that can be used for the bride price. Thus there are no animals, gold, money, or anything else used.

684 231 Error: I said before that the animals killed in the incest cases were part of the bride price.

War

648 Dutch said there would be no release unless he
578 signed. He signed on a promise that the case
609 would be reheard, but then after he signed the Dutch refused to reopen the case. I get the idea that there was real hostility to the Dutch here, but that the people were so scared that there was no revolt. Indeed, this is what the Roworoke men said: at first the people resisted, but when many of them were sent to jail, they gave up. The Dutch came here late, and the rough stage of colonialism was a recent one. It came earlier elsewhere. At any rate, there is no sorrow at all here that the Dutch have gone. They really hated the Dutch except the pastors. The lack of politeness of the Dutch seems to have impressed the folk here very much. There were radjas, however, who sided with the Dutch, and in fact I think this was the previous line of the radja kedua family.

829 In regard to Holland, they all thought that
648 it was a very big and powerful place. This is why there was great muttering yesterday when I told of the population of Holland. They regarded the Queen as their Radja, because her head was on the money. This is an illustration of the primitive political views here. They also saw that the Larantuka radja was well under the Dutch, and his rank fell very far.

609 The pastors here are the great exception.
797 The people love them, and when Roy tries to ex-
758 plain why, the first thing he mentions is medi-
177 cine, and then comes the standard stuff in regard to religion. This is a good example of how religion rides in on the advanced culture's material strength. They indeed have more powerful "medicine." This kind of thing seems to have been the wedge. Then the schools would come in, etc. That is, primitive people can see
797 quickly the obvious advantages in material and
177 job terms, etc., of the outside superior culture,

We.
797
177 and the price the outsiders ask is giving up the old religion.

829
565 The people know nothing about other lands and certainly nothing about their governments. However, they know the names of other countries and a bit about the roles they play in world events. I asked if they knew about demokrasi, and he said that the word is used all over here now, although it is brand new. They don't know what it means. He says that they tend to think that it means a kind of anarchy where anyone can take anything, with no respect for rank. I wonder if maybe in this thoroughly ordered and stratified place, where inherited rank and inequality prevails (rank, class, ritual, respect, etc.), and indeed exists in the very heart of the society, whether when they first heard that democracy meant that all people were equal, this did not sound like anarchy, as they could not imagine an ordered world where there was no rank.

829
648 They know nothing about the actual facts of the United Nations, but they have heard plenty about the "Kumpulan Medja Bundar". [Round Table Conference]. This all came out when they saw the red and white flag and asked what all of this was about. They got the story that there was the Round Table Conference, and that at it Indonesia became free and this was the new flag. The flag was the symbol that produced the story. They also have heard a lot about the United States and that it helped in obtaining Indonesian freedom (perhaps we managed to salvage some touted good will in Indonesia). Beyond this, however, they know nothing of world politics. They did know about the Allies (Bangsa Serikat; Kattenburg says "Pemerintah Serikat"), as they were partly involved in the war. They think that this union, and especially the United States, beat the Japanese. When asked if the Dutch helped, Roy said that they have no thought on this matter, as

794 Catholic, has two wives, but he was adamant.
665 As for Mohammedanism, he says that they are dormant politically, or at least they have been until recently. Now that Dr. Sutomo is here he is becoming a kind of Mohammedan leader. However, the Mohammedans are few and they are important only in Kampong Baru. There was a
798 rumor here on the Japanese entrance that the
203 Japanese were Mohammedans. It went further to the effect that all Christians and pagans were to be killed. The theme was that you had better get your songko boys. There was a new version, when the red and white flag went up. It went that this was really the flag of Islam and that the Christians and pagans would have no voice in the government. He thinks that perhaps this rumor was started by the Mohammedans. It was here that he joyfully parroted several times my word desas-desus [whispering, rumors]. He learns new words fast.

178 The situation here is the reverse of the
●797 usual thing. The Catholics are the radicals,
565 in the sense that they are against the old
177 things which are pagan, and the pagans are the
769 conservatives in the sense that they want to keep the old ways. This will change later, surely.

This led to a long talk about the entry of Catholicism here. Roy admits that he may be the most powerful factor in the fast and one hundred per cent conversion here. He said that the main reason was that he gave good lessons (ketranggan [interpretation, clarification, proof]) and the second reason was that he happens to be a real noble. The latter meant not only that he had a good name and respected rank, but that he was in close touch with and had real privileges in the pagan ancestral stuff. Indeed, his own rank depends on the ancestor cult. If he was willing to take a chance with the new

We

198 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614] Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
578

War

797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru
[181] and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[152] ness of the folk stands out, together with their tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

R

791 178 all pagans then,[1] and all parents of the present adults of about thirty or older were pagan. My assistant's father was. They were

872 [177] The lower school here consists of three grades. It is a mission school although the government evidently makes a contribution to it. In Ndona (seven kilometers by road, four kilometers across the hills, and the children walk there) there are eight grades. Until the present there is only one from here who has gone as far as class seven, and ten in class six. The school in Ndona is the highest level school around here (and perhaps in all Flores) except for the seminary. The eighth grade qualifies one for the job of guru.

There are two children here who go to school in Ende where there is a connecting or intermediate school and a middle school, I think.

[771] There are few Mohammedans here, and no Koran school. They must go to Ende for this.

871 185 178 Everyone here is very much in favor of education. Formerly, there was a bit of trouble with the oldsters who saw no sense (and I suspect did not like the mission tie-up) in such things. But now everyone wants his children to go to school. They are anxious to have both their girls and boys go to school, although they are perhaps a bit more interested in education for their boys. If a girl is clever, however, they want her to advance too.

888 272 The children do show a bit of a superiority feeling toward the illiterate oldsters, but there is almost always a great show of respect. And the illiterate old folk are not ashamed. They are only farmers, anyway, they say.

798 872 178 When Catholicism came in first, there was much trouble, and the elders scolded hard. After the school came in, in 1921, there was no more trouble. They say and insist that the pagan elders make no trouble at all for the Catholic children

1 [i.e., fifty years ago.--Analyst]

R

771 families which are split (e.g., Migo has Mohammedan relatives, including a hadji) talk very little about religion except for such things as how was the trip to Mecca, etc.

582 This led to the matter of marriage. Migo
• 797 said that there might be trouble with religious differences in marriage, but there had not been much fuss yet. There are two or three cases of Catholic men who became Mohammedan in order to marry Mohammedan girls. There is no case yet of a Mohammedan becoming a Catholic in order to marry.

This led to a discussion of a case where a Catholic married a pagan. Usually the pagan agrees to a church wedding, but there are some cases where the pagan will not agree, and then they just live together.

595 Then I got some real data: There are Catho-
183 lic men who have two wives. They marry the first wife in the church, and just live with the second. The second wife is often a pagan. Thus the kepala kampong has a second wife, and she is the young beauty who was among the crowd who got into the jeep one time going to Ende. I tried to speak to her, but she was wide-eyed and said nothing. She looked like a wild animal. She is illiterate and one hundred per cent pagan. Thus he admitted that there are still young pagans (are they mostly men or women?). She was perhaps twenty years old. I asked if the pastors nag about this, and he said no. Evidently the pastors are not concerned about these people. They just preach that it is not right (but evidently they go easy on such cases, because they are afraid that they might turn some of the individuals against the church. Thus, how could they excommunicate the kepala kampong?) As for the children of mixed pagan-Catholic marriages, he said that there are some arguments. Evidently, here again the whole level is so low that it does not amount to much.

R

582 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's
835 daughter's son). However, the priests will give dispensation only with a certain amount of fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is evidently easier because the Catholics are newer there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage, but the very poor folk may omit it, although they try to pay a little, and merely go and live together. The price is variana. Formerly it included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes, horses, cattle). They try to give these things now, but it is degenerating into money alone. The return gift is called tau laguana. The girl's family gives it. It usually includes properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads, and formerly slaves. The price also formerly might have included slaves, I think. In addition, the girl's family gives a kind of "household outfitting" to the couple, including baskets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is like a dowry. Evidently it is also called laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return gift it would be like selling a slave.

• [197] The church enforced a shift to more distant
[178] mother's brother's daughter type marriages. The price is much lower now, and this constitutes a big change in the last fifty years or
[565] so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 Another change is the removal of the former
178 taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days,
565 an upper man might take as a concubine a slave
567 girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would
684 not ordinarily marry her, although he might do so. In the old days, however, if a slave man tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean that both of them would be put to death. This

R

581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 [848] They insist that there is not one case of a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 797 595 587 582 In the family the Catholics have tried to stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2) levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3) mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 753 [565] In regard to the nobility, I can get no reaction on ideas of magic power, and they say that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

411 I also noted many spear bearers. The one I talked with in Tana Ai said that his spear (with a regular head) had been bought from a traveling seller who had brought it from Adonara. Over the line in Lewotobi, I asked a man with a spear, whose head had only one barb, what kind of spear he was carrying. He said that it was unique to Lewotobi, and later I saw others like it. I guess they make them themselves.

Then I went on to Larantuka, where the 443 pasanggrahan disintegrates more all the time. 515 This time the place was full of medicine 514 sellers who follow fairs about and do tricks on bicycles. They sang Mohammedan chants endlessly, washed clothes and urinated in the bathroom, and sat around in the way. I had already run into a similarly unsanitary Arab couple in the Ende pasanggrahan. The medicine people were from Celebes. Now this place is really going native. The toilets are falling into ruin. I noted on my way that the tele- 206 graph wire was down at kilometer 44, and I told the next road foreman. Four days later I found the wire still down. The bridges will 491 never be rebuilt, it seems. The road simply uses fords, that's all.

● 797 I hear from Arriens that letters are coming 648 to the Flores Council asking how long the Dutch 178 are going to remain in their posts. The whole place is on the way down. I hear that Radja Sikka, has appointed Pastor Raats, a Dutchman, as a special adviser. Thus the mission alone will remain of the West here. The new superstition is substituted for the old.

797 I get more and more depressed by Larantuka with its constant Catholic processions. On the way in at a suburb, a long procession with crosses, chanting, etc., came winding out of a church (I wonder if it was the old time one at

●797 Waibalun?). There must have been hundreds of them in this procession. Following this there was a long parade of a lot more. Perhaps this was the Confreria Santa Maria, the underground men's organization that kept Catholicism going in the kampongs during the long time when the Portuguese missionaries were not here. The second guru in Leloba told me that the white sheet cloak I saw on him as he was leading a funeral last week was the robe of the Confreria. In spite of everything, the mission is the only modern, efficient, and perhaps one of the few honest (how honest?) things in Flores.

377 181 I am glad I shall be leaving this truly forsaken island before long. It gets on one's nerves. One can't buy anything, few places have electric lights (the ones here just went off, but miraculously came on again after a few minutes), everything is broken down, the people are stupid, the radjas are hopeless.

124 Larantuka: I spent a final three days in Leloba finishing up the schedule on Wailolong, and it was lucky I did this, because, as usual, my assistants (the same everywhere in Indonesia so far, except in Makassar) did not finish the answers. They did do the census and the map. Anyway, I got onto the schedule at once, covering old spots which were not filled in yet, and finishing what was left undone.

We 648 361 In 1913 the Dutch forced the people to move down from the old hill location to the present location of Wailolong. Formerly, it was located one-half kilometer from Leloba. Then, in 1922, it was allowed to move back, but it moved not all the way back to its former location, but only as far as it is now. This whole business is typical of the Dutch administration in the worst days, when, for the sake of "peace, order, and taxes," and for all I know, the mission, they made these poor people move out of the

We

000 ring system.

829 Since the war, there has been plenty of talk and interest in Indonesian affairs. Before the war one never heard of such things. Formerly, the people knew only of the Dutch as far as the outside world was concerned. They knew very little about other parts of Indonesia. The war "opened the world" to these remote people. (But, I'd say, this was still a very slim opening.)

871 There was no school here at all fifty years ago. In those days, however, there was one guru in Wailolong and one guru in Leloba who could read and write. No students from here have studied at a university or at an HBS. Two students from here are now attending the middle school, in class six. All children from here now go to the lower school. One from Wailolong goes to school in Larantuka. There is also a middle school at Maumere. There are no native schools here.

[185] Roy reports that the people here like school today, and want their children to go as high as possible. (I doubt this. I think many, if not most, are rather vague about this subject. But I have to take his word for it.)

[463] There are no noticeable differences in activities connected with the level of education achieved by individuals in this area. This is because everyone is a farmer. The only exceptions would be the guru, but there are no local men of Wailolong who are guru.

[876] There is no non-official individual training. At one time they tried (evidently under government propaganda) a system where "everyone teaches another" but it stopped fast.

[797] The mission runs the schools here, but the [658] government subsidizes them. I think this is true for nearly all of the schools in Flores (check).

Wa.

793 The first real pastor was placed in Riang Kamië in 1926. Before this there was only a guru (a chapel, that is).

771 162 About eighty per cent of the population here is Christian. (Note from the partial Leloba census that there are still pagans there too.)

797 Roy repeats that there were three phases in the Christianization of this area: the easy welcome, the troubled period, and that of resignation. There are two gurus in Wailolong: one from Larantuka town and the other from Bama. This, he says, delays the speed of Christianization, because they are "aliens." It is better to have local gurus. He clearly implies that the reason Leloba became Christian so fast is that he did it, as a powerful local man. He repeats that Laba, the last powerful pagan, argued against him quite a bit.

Leloba now has one guru (the assistant of my assistant). Roy resigned actively in 1940. Nearly all of Leloba is Christian.

Roy says that they are first given instruction in Christianity and then baptized. Thus there are a lot of "aspirants."

771 797 782 There are no Mohammedans here. When I asked why, he said it would be impossible, because pig killing and pig eating is so important a part of the ritual life that a Mohammedan could not get along here. (I see clearly in this the real actual importance of the pork taboo in holding back Mohammedanism. I remember this being said in Toradja country, and I think also in Ambon.)

Another deterrent to Mohammedanism is that Mohammedans could not slaughter in accordance with the old rules. They would have to kill according to Mohammedan custom, and this simply couldn't be. Thus it is remarkable to see how strong the old killing theme is here, that is, the ritual and the custom, and how all of this

We

771 actually makes Mohammedanism impossible. Mo-
797 hammedanism is out here because it (1) taboos
782 certain kinds of flesh, which Christianity does not and (2) because it requires a special kind of slaughtering, which Christianity does not. This is an amazing case of how a "small" thing can explain why a great religion fails and why another succeeds.

624 Roy went further and said that it is impos-
782 sible to have a radja tuan system or even several radja tuan without pigs and ritual killing. The pig killing rite is thus the very center of the whole social scheme. (I had some
[262] pork here, and it was fat, greasy, and tough. But these folks are always hungry evidently, and even more so perhaps now than ever. Again I see how meat means so much.)

162 Perhaps twenty per cent of the Wailolong
771 population is still pagan (see the census). In Leloba there are perhaps only twenty persons who are still not Christian. But these are, or at least some of them, preparing for baptism. They are mostly old people. However, they burst out, there are plenty of persons in both kampongs who are only partially Christian. They think of them as being half pagan as they do not understand much about Christianity. They are Christians in name only.

797 And, Roy said, when I said that Krol said that Catholicism allowed plenty of ceremonies that if this were not so perhaps Catholicism would lose many adherents. The Catholics must compromise. Thus the gurus agree with the priests. Moreover, just as Krol said, they wouldn't get any more converts if they became too rough on the pagan customs. Thus I see that the way here is to make haste slowly, and to let the pagans keep as much as possible, and to gradually wean the young to the true one hundred per cent faith. This is clever and it

We

•797 works, but I wonder if there might not be trouble if the central organization of the Catholic Church knew it. Still, perhaps the Catholics are indeed less doctrinaire than the Protestants. Surely the Jesuits are, with their different approach toward ends and means. There is a big contrast here with Ambon, surely.

788 Much of the former pagan ritual still survives. For example, there are field rites, beliefs, illness treatments, etc. The pagans still carry on plenty of the old ceremonies. Even the elaborate rites for planting, etc., continue.

241 782 796 The tuno wudjo is still an important figure in planting rites of Wailolong, but has disappeared in Leloba since Vatter's[1] day. The story is that she is a girl who was sacrificed in Lio by her seven brothers, to make the fields fertile. (They say that this is "to make the gardens fat.") Indeed, she told them to kill her in order to help. And the pieces of her body were sent to places all over Flores to make the fields fertile. The story is also found in Adonara.

Note: Lio is a great place for human sacrifice in relation to agriculture. The Radja of Lio not long ago was executed by the Dutch, and among his crimes was listed the killing of young girls for agricultural field rites. The people of Ende know this, and it seems generally known throughout Flores.

[614] [173] Note also: according to Vatter,[1] one of the suku in Tandjung Bunga is Lio, and they are supposed to be descended from people who came from there. I wonder if perhaps this myth is not a sign of former human sacrifice in relation to agriculture all over Flores (or at least for East Flores), and it may also have originated in Lio and thence spread to here. Anyway, the

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wa.

000 much of a waste of animals.

796 614 346 I finally found out which kampongs do the main ritual functions when they have a general Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watuwiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 614 793 565 789 756 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself is so impressed by. There are priests in the sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are really suku and ama priests. They are administrative and ritual officers. In addition, there are priests and gurus of the new religion. And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 797 658 The schools are government schools, but the mission runs them and evidently provides, but does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

Wa.

871 once solely in the hands of the mission, but
658 they are now given government support. This
797 is a curious situation. I see more of the same thing in Roworeke, where the Mohammedan problem enters.

771 There are plenty of debates in Leloba about
798 religion always, and this was especially true in the days when Catholicism was coming in. Roy talked ceaselessly with the last pagan power, Laba. However, there was much less debate in Wailolong. In fact, Roy says that Wailolong is not much interested in religion, and he says that this is largely because the gurus there are outside men. They have little influence. And thus again we see the closed world aspect of this situation. Even when preaching the universal religion, a man has to be from the Belakang Gunung region and even from the very same kampong in order to get much of a hearing. I suppose the pastors are an exception. They are such big medicine that they can even be Dutch. I note, however, that probably Holland is so far off that it is like "a far-off heaven" and there is therefore no friction with the little closed world here. Roy says that Wailolong is not much for Christianity at all. Thus I see what I first saw, that Wailolong is really a pagan kampong with a Catholic name. That is why paganism shows up so clearly. And it may also be why there is no particular love for Leloba here, and why Roy is so much afraid to work there, or at least why he was so afraid at first. He actually feared being snubbed.

Roy predicts that the last pure pagan will have died in another ten years. There is knowledge only of Catholicism and pagan cults here. Hence there is no "comparative religion." Note again that Christianity means Catholic. Protestants are evidently seldom mentioned. How nice for tolerance!

R

114 Roworeke: I started on the last two days, January 21 and 22, and went to work on the schedule.

797 Fifty years ago there were no Christians here at all. In 1922, and the kapitan says that it was in October or November, the Catholics entered. They cannot remember who the first convert was. At first acceptance was very slow (and this may be linked with the wars against the Dutch), but there was no strong resistance. These folk took it, they say. But I note that there are plenty of pagans even today.

771 The assistant says that this area is about
162 sixty per cent Christian. All have been in contact with Christianity, as even the pagans have relatives who are Christians. There are also relations with Mohammedanism, as there are many Mohammedans near here, although few in this kampong. There are no troubles with any religion.

875 There are two school teachers in Watu Roga,
797 and two religious teachers. The school build-
[658] ing belongs to the mission, but the government pays the costs and the salaries of the teachers. Perhaps it is a mere subsidy. There are no real troubles in regard to religion in school, partly because the teachers do not propagandize much, and partly because the people seem not to worry about religion. In fact, they kept on saying that I, as an educated man, might fuss over points of religion, but they knew so little that they would not know if they were being propagandized. Thus, I suspect that the gurus do not ever attack paganism directly, as this might cause trouble. Instead, they just slide in the Christian belief as though it were normal.

They have no trouble with Mohammedan teachers, as there is only one such in the whole Ende area. He is the son of the big kapitan Nggobe. The

R

875 reason for this is that Mohammedans are not
797 educated enough to have many teachers yet. Thus, the mission has given Catholicism a big head start, as is the case in Ambon.

771 There are only about ten Mohammedans in Ro-
797 woreke. They had a mosque at kilometer five formerly, but it is gone now. The maximum number of converts in the kampong, to Mohammedanism, per year is from one to two. There is a chapel here, and the priest comes once a month to hear confessions, hold mass, etc. Otherwise, the people here go to Ndona for mass (I see them on Sunday walking; rain means nothing to these people). I get the impression that many people do not go to mass. For example, every Sunday I have been there, the kapitan and the assistant and many others do not go to church so far as I can see. And I don't see many women who look as though they had gone. I should have asked about this.

778 There are two ancestor grave-bone shrines, i.e., one in Roworeke and one in Watu Roga. There are also plenty of stones and the usual graves. There has never been a real rumah berhala here. But Manunggo'o had one.

527 The principal feast time is at planting. The tuan tanah (mosa laki mere) must be there at that time. There is no illness exorcism
[755] feast held any more. Thanksgiving feasts for good crops are held privately, not communally. There is a great feast for rebuilding the grave-bone shrine.

788 There is plenty of private pagan rituals, for example, to ward off illness, to make offerings to trees, and the dukun stuff. In addition, there is the bisa mari. (Having seen the dukun
[753] and how he diagnoses, I understand Migo when he said that he has a personal-family buffalo totem taboo because the dukun said it caused his illness.)

R

527 852 A small feast is given at the birth of a child.

304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

622 793 The mosa laki are of course religious as well as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

782 797 [231] There was no trouble here in regard to the acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

R

797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
782 can be used.

Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic,
771 and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

771 I asked about the religion here as given in
my notes from Elbert[1] who was here in the pre-
114 Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
[775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

778 The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
831 after hesitation they admitted that it is a male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.

[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.
776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

We

582 has several wives. (This shows the recency of
578 conversion here. Here is this smooth and smart
835 lad, almost sophisticated, one who could get along almost anywhere in the world, whose father is a completely benighted heathen. He says that the family will be torn apart if one of the sons
535 does not marry the mother's brother's daughter.)
582 Then I asked what happens to the Catholics.
797 He said that usually they are given isin (dis-
[183] pensation), but the priests do not like it at all. However, he saw the point when I said that after all it was only one brother in a family who had to get the dispensation, and so maybe the church would not be too worried.

This led me to a speech, and I think the point was not bad, and perhaps the priests
[182] think of it. If they destroy the mother's brother's daughter marriage, the whole social organization falls apart, as this is the keystone all over Flores (and all through this part of Indonesia, I think). If they do this, perhaps the adat will fall apart and cause a breakdown of all the good rules, from the Catholic viewpoint. However, perhaps the reason is more realistic, i.e., it is hard to get converts if they make it too hard on the old adat.

Anyway, they can use the three generation up and three generation down dodge to get a classificatory mother's brother's daughter and keep up the old system.

583 Then we got onto the records again and ran
591 into some trouble. But before that I note that No. 167 is a girl who lives with her father's sister. She may well be already spoken for and even paid for, for the son of the latter. There is a son of nearly the same age there.

There are several families in the kampongs of outside origin in the case of both spouses (46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65). There are several men in Ndung

We

871 185 old people have been heard to say that they wished they were young again so that they could go to school. "We didn't have these advantages in my day."

871 212 [578] There is no trouble between the educated and the uneducated. Until recently there was no conflict between the illiterate older people and the schooled young. Of course, they have only three grades anyway, but in all events they haven't had the problem of the stuck up children at all. There is no disobedience. There are still a few dalu and kepala kampongs who are illiterate, but this is becoming less and less so all the time. And they have assistants who help them.

The young do not teach the old here. The literacy campaign of the East Indonesian government failed here as everywhere. It started and then stopped. (Why learn to read when there is nothing to read? Why learn to write when no one writes? This is my interpretation.)

[787] [658] The schools are run by the mission, but the government pays all of the expenses except for what the mission wants to give, for example, books. This is a system found all over Flores, I think. Mission schools are paid for by the government. The whole administration is carried out by the mission.

874 797 There is not a single person from here who has gone to seminary. After the six grades the gurus go to OVO (Opleidingsschool voor Volksonderwijzers), a two year course at the mission in Ruteng. There is also a trade school at the Ruteng mission. The trade school gurus must go to a two year course in Ende Ambachtsschool, in the mission there, after they have finished six grades. There is no other available special education.

614 The assistant worked until midnight getting information for the outline in Veol and Ndung.

We

212 one could read or write. In fact, this goes for all of Manggarai. Everyone here speaks
191 the local language. About fifty per cent of the people here speak Malay, and most of those who are not able to speak it are oldsters. No one can speak Dutch or English here.

212 Only those who have gone to school can read
204 and write. No one reads Bentara, a mission
• 797 paper (although the guru does). Two people read the sheet which the mission puts out for Manggarai. It is called Palita.

212 The only books here are religious books and song books (and books in the school?). Note: I saw many children with their school "tackle" hanging on a string around their necks. They wear them on their backs. They are a piece of chalk stuck in a bamboo, a ruler, and a bamboo with a wet cloth. These are for writing on slate.

[651] The children and other literates write in
[217] order to "keep books." Thus there are the "tax books" showing how much each person must pay in palm wine, etc., to the tuan tanah. These are written for him. All sorts of transactions are "recorded," e.g., prices, borrowing, gifts for such things as marriage feasts, etc. This is brand new. There is practically no other form of writing done here.

185 Everyone is eager to learn here. The only
191 language other than their own which is taught here is Malay, but in class four they are starting to learn Dutch, taught by the guru who was in a seminary for two years.

207 There are no radios here. Once a pastor in
546 1941 brought a movie projector here, and many people saw movies then. That's all.

412 There are many new tools here, for example, shovels, drills, and axes. They are even able
178 to make some of these now. There is much more
415 use of iron tools and utensils than was formerly the case.

We

609 presence too. They are always apprehensive. They are afraid of new things, such as schools (at least when they first came in). They are an apprehensive lot, and their history offers a good explanation. I can see this even in the assistant. Also, as the Maumere pastor says, they are extremely respectful. They hold one [576] hand to receive a cigarette, and the tuan tanah and others, when they leave me, bend way over. Sikka, he says, is different.

576 171 These people remind me of the "oppressed" and noble-ridden Buginese and Makassarese, and indeed through their contact with Bima they came under the same system of respect and the like. The pastor says that fifteen years ago they crept before a superior. How different they are from the Ambonese, or even to some degree different from the Larantuka and Ende people, although the latter are more this way (but how much less!). The Toradja were much different too. They were not hit so hard by the Buginese slave raids evidently. And it must be remembered that Buginese administration never really penetrated Toradja land.

• 797 The church does not mix in politics here. The Catholics entered here about 1922. They went slow, and they are still not moving at a very fast rate. About fifty per cent of the population here now is Christian, says the assistant. In getting information for the records [595] the assistant found it difficult to get information on polygamy. I note that there are several interesting cases. For example, the tuan tanah of Veol rode to Ruteng with me today, with his second wife, who is young. She is a Catholic, but they were not married in church. The kepala kampong has six wives, and number five is Catholic, but there was no church wedding in this case either. However, there are other troubles in getting information, and he

We

124 will tell them. He says that the pastors do
[797] not like it if a guru gets too zealous. They want him to respect the old ways and go slowly. This is indeed crafty.

771 Among the thirty-nine dalu, about twenty of
565 them are Christian, says the kraeng. About
796 thirty per cent of the gelarang are Christian,
183 says the kraeng, but the assistant says that this is true only of their heirs apparent. The trouble in regard to the rites which the gelarang must lead is still to come. For example, the heir apparent of the Veol gelarang is Serai, who is about twenty-five years old and a Catholic. What will happen? The assistant says that he must lead the rites, but they will have troubles reconciling the old with the new Catholic ways. But so far everyone, including the Catholics, must go through the ceremonies, because they are so closely related to their livelihood. Agriculture, on which everything depends, is unthinkable without the rites!

601 Larantuka: I met Oudehand, "controleur" at
[115] Waingapu in Sumba, and had a talk with him. He worked in Leloba and is writing an article for "Indonesia" about the adat there. We got onto the subject of kinship terms, and he had this to say. He says that opu is the term for affinal relationships. This goes for both sides. Thus, with the qualifier belake (my term for mother's brother) opu belake means all the relatives with whom a man is related by marriage, that is, his wife's (mother's brother's daughter) group. And on the other side, he says opu wai(ng) means all the relatives-in-law on the father's sister's side, i.e., the man's sister's relatives-in-law. The general term opu, he says, he got for mother's brother, mother's brother's son, and father's sister (all man speaking), and perhaps also father's sister's son (man speaking).

601 Manggarai: I remembered in relation to the opu belake and opu wai(ng) which Oudehand[1] said were woman-giving and woman-receiving groups (man speaking) for Larantuka, that Cornelius said that the woman-giving group is ana rona and the woman-receiving group is ana vina (man speaking) in Manggarai. This checks out, as the belake and rona are comparable and the wai(ng) (or wae or kawaing, meaning wife) and vina are comparable. In Manggarai the term for the woman-giving group has a male connotation, as in Larantuka, and the woman-receiving group's term has a female connotation in both instances. The Manggarai terms are taken from the words for husband (father's sister's son) and wife (mother's brother's daughter), respectively, with ana (child) put in. Since rona and vina have the meaning of male and female, the ana rona and ana vina could mean "sons" and "daughters." However, this all seems complicated. Anyway, the Larantuka terms for the two groups are taken from the words for mother's brother and father-in-law and "female" respectively. The general idea seems clear, but there is a difference in the exact meanings.

[114] 533 ●197 We I got onto the last two days of work in Veol on January 29 and 30. On the evening of the former, Sunday, van Bekkum[2] had the school put on a singing demonstration for me, and it was remarkable. The songs were Manggarai, written by Manggarai gurus, and they are like Debussy, but with weird progressions and peculiar slides and part-notes. The voices are fine and very impressive in the failing light, with the hills around, and especially good were the single, sweet, girls' voices in solo form from time to time. This is very rich material. The boys stood on one side, led by three lads with ornate headcloths and sarongs; and the girls stood on the other side. The whole thing was good. The

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
[2] [pastor at Puteng --Analyst]

We

533 797 [562] school! The is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] [611] price and make the return gift. If a bride price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

1/ [ie., at Veol.—Analyst]

We
565 of Flores, so unlike the radjas of Celebes.
582 This is a correction of some of the previous notes, because he had said that radjas, dalu and gelarang intermarried only among each other. The truth seems to be that all except the mendi are intermarriageable.

There is still great feeling against marrying a descendant of a mendi. For example, in Pau, where there are about ten persons descended from mendi, there have been a few marriages of these families with commoners, but never with gelarang families (e.g., the assistant's). The assistant says that he would never want his daughter to marry a mendi descendant. I pressed hard on this, and asked him if he would not be willing to have his daughter marry a mendi descendant if, for example, he became a great man in Indonesia, along with the new democracy. He said absolutely not. This is a Catholic, young and educated fellow. Then I asked about his son, should he want to marry a mendi girl. He said there would be much less resistance in this case.

Among the uppers there is a great deal of inter-district marriage, for example, at the radja, dalu, gelarang and kraeng levels. There is also some inter-district marriage among the commoners.

789 The only magic power known is in the hands
756 of the mbako. They can give magical strength
565 to individuals. Thus again I see how important and powerful are these secret persons. The nobles, however, have no kekuatan adjaib.

• 797 The only major change in the local religion has been the introduction of Catholicism, and it has been epochal.

771 About fifty per cent of the local people are
788 Catholic. Just about every family has at least
183 one Catholic in it. If a Catholic wants to attend community rites, this is all right, but he

We

771 should not pray. Also, a Catholic may not
788 initiate ceremonies by himself, for example,
183 house rites. I wonder what happens to a Catholic who lives in a house with the little hanging shelves for the naga. There the shelf is over their heads, and I wonder if they do not give offerings. If I had the time I would like to trail a Catholic around; my guess is that most of them do not worry too much about orthodoxy. There is still a lot of friction here.

875 There is a guru agama for Veol and Ndung,
793 but he lives in Rai. Usually there is a guru agama for each kampong, but these are twins. Usually one pastor serves one or two dalu. Rahong has the Maumere man, who lives in Tjantjar.

797 Most conversions are made of the young through the school. There are no cases of children converting their parents. There are relatively few direct adult converts. The school does the trick. A convert must first be a catechumen and learn the ropes. This lasts for one to two years.

797 The priests worry a lot here about what to
183 do, because adat is so dependent on the old
578 ceremonies. In Larantuka they have tried to
595 Christianize the pagan rites, etc. Right here there is a real problem, as the heir apparent of the big tuan tanah of Veol is Catholic. The assistant says van Bekkum[1] has discussed what should be done with him. Then too there is the matter of polygamy, which is very strong here. Most of the outright opposition to Catholicism comes from men or women who, because of a plural marriage, are not looked upon favorably by the
[783] church. There is no possible idjing (dispensation, according to Oudehand's version[2] for this. This is a head-on conflict, especially because they desire so many children. The polygamists

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

797 We are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

We

162 Here in Veol the Christians and pagans are also about fifty-fifty. It is notable that here in Veol many of the young people are still pagan. There is plenty of paganism still, and the Catholics, I am sure, are largely pagan. The [578] main conflict is over polygyny. But there is also plenty of general friction. It is especially bad if a man has a barren wife. He must remarry. Who will feed him when he is dead? Also, what about the ceremonies? It is all right for the Catholics to say that Christians may attend community rites, if they do not pray in pagan style, but what will happen if all of them turn Catholic? Who will be there to do the rites?

797 769 775 788 Note also that the last of the rites means the end of relations with the thousands of dead inhabitants of the kampong. The Catholics try to fix this up. For example, Roy tried to do this by saying that they are probably not around the graves but have flown off to heaven. But this is revolutionary, and changes the whole character of the settlement into a kind of "empty" place, with only living persons living in it. He told how his father's father, when his father was a boy and the guru tried to convert him, had ordered the boy not to change. And the boy didn't. He now has four wives, one of whom is the assistant's mother. Note the [771] similarity with Toradja Protestant rules. Catholics may not pray in pagan style and may not hold private rites, and they may not officiate at the rites, but they may attend.

865 Note: At the Sunday singing performance I was impressed by the good behavior of the children. This always seems to be true here in Indonesia. They are amazingly unmischievous. The guru says that almost never is there a disciplinary problem. I can see this all over. The children are adults really while still very

We

771 conservative, but not fanatic. Cornelius[1] says that they do not analyze the situation by thinking of what good things Catholicism has brought. Opposition is in the form of criticism, not in terms of a balance of good and bad. Just a- [871]
bout all education is in the hands of the mis- [797]
sion, although schools are paid for mainly by [658]
the government. Even in Mohammedan Reo, I found, the schools are mission run.

The people here do not debate very much [521]
about religious matters, but they do criticize the Catholic opposition to polygyny and feasts. There are no real debates or discussions, however, not even within families.

In regard to other religions, they know only [829]
Catholicism. All they know about Mohammedanism is that they eat no pork and are allowed four wives. There is no knowledge of other cults.

764 Formerly, in disposing of the dead, a mat
[178] was used, not a coffin. Today boxes are used everywhere. The big change in funeral rites has been the addition of Catholic rites, but the old ones are carried out too, as in the case of the wedding. When someone dies, everyone howls, and this includes men and women. Then two or three children carry a spear around the area, telling who has died. A few people from each house come to the house of the dead. They place the dead on a mat, on the floor, with the head toward the door. A cloth is placed over the whole body including the face. Thus the body remains on the floor for one day. A coffin is made. The dead is dressed in fine clothes. A few carefully saved silver coins are usually put in the mouth of the dead.

At the cemetery a man hits the ground five times with a stick before the grave is dug. When the grave is ready, they bring the coffin and bury the body. The reason for hitting the ground five times is in hope that in this way

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]